

# The Political Theology of Pg and Its Relation to the Contemporary Pro-Babylonian Golah Redaction in the Book of Ezekiel<sup>1</sup>

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## 1. Introduction

In current scholarship there is a new trend of research which tries to investigate the correlation between the formation of the biblical corpus and the diversified historical socio-political structure with the social groups behind the biblical tradition.<sup>2</sup> In line with this new research trend, this article aims to analyze the relationship between the political theologies and the formations of Pg and the book of Ezekiel. The relationship between P and the book of Ezekiel is one of

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- 1 This is a revised and extended version of a paper that I presented at the EABS Graduate Symposium, 2022, held at Charles University, Prague. I thank my colleagues Jordan Davis (Oldenburg) and Moritz Franz Adam (Zürich) for improving my English in this article and for their critical comments. All translations of the biblical passages are mine.
  - 2 This research trend is represented by following books. ed. B. Hensel et al., *Yahwistic Diversity and the Hebrew Bible*, FAT 2. Reihe 120 (Tübingen; Mohr Siebeck, 2020); ed. J. Jeon, *The Social Groups behind the Pentateuch*, SBL Ancient Israel and Its Literature 44 (Atlanta; SBL Press, 2021); idem, *From the Reed Sea to Kadesh: A Redactional and Socio-Historical Study of the Pentateuchal Wilderness Narrative*, FAT 159 (Tübingen; Mohr Siebeck, 2022); ed. B. Hensel et al., *Social Groups behind the Biblical tradition*, FAT 167 (Tübingen; Mohr Siebeck, 2023).

the most contentiously debated topics in Hebrew Bible studies. However, there is insufficient research dedicated to this significant problem from the perspective of historical-critical analysis.<sup>3</sup> This paper aims to contribute to this discussion of the relationship between P and Ezekiel through the analysis and comparison of their respective political theologies, especially considering the diachronic historical developments of both literary corpora.

First of all, it can be helpful to survey the literary profile of P according to recent research.

Generally, scholars divide the Priestly literature of the Pentateuch into three categories; namely, Pg (the literary core [beginning with the creation narrative in Genesis 1], which lays the foundation of the Priestly narrative in the Pentateuch), Ps (a blanket term covering several later interpolations, notably including the Priestly legal materials but not limited to legal texts), and H (the Holiness Legislations in Lev 17–26). The first scholar who introduced these terminologies to reflect the separation between the literary core and the secondary materials of P as “Pg” and “Ps” was Hermann Holzinger in his *Einleitung in den Hexateuch* from 1893.<sup>4</sup> This model was later developed by Karl Elliger and Martin Noth, who accentuated the influential separation and distinction between the narrative source of Pg and the secondary (legalistic) materials of Ps.<sup>5</sup> This fundamental separation of Pg and Ps continues to be prevalent in recent research, with a few exceptions.<sup>6</sup>

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3 For the exceptions, see, for example, J. Jeon, “A Source of P? The Priestly Exodus Account and the Book of Ezekiel,” *Sem* 58 (2016, 77–92); W. Bühner, “Ezechiel und die Priesterschrift,” in *Das Buch Ezechiel. Komposition, Redaktion und Rezeption*, ed. J. C. Gertz et al., BZAW 516, (Berlin / Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2020, 175–206).

4 H. Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch* (Freiburg I. B. / Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1893), 332–475.

5 See K. Elliger, “Sinn und Ursprung der priesterlichen Geschichtserzählung,” *ZTK* 49 (1952, 121–143); Martin Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch* (2. Auflage; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1960), 7–19.

However, modern scholarship has proposed several different endings for Pg. Following the detailed analysis of Lothar Perlitt in 1988, many scholars started to abandon the idea of seeing the ending of Pg (*Priestergrundschrift*) in Deuteronomy 34.<sup>7</sup> To give a few examples, Erich Zenger suggests its ending to be in Leviticus 9:24.<sup>8</sup> For Eckart Otto, it is in Exodus 29:46.<sup>9</sup> Christophe Nihan argues for the ending in Leviticus 16,<sup>10</sup> and Thomas Pola, followed by Reinhard Kratz, suggests Exodus 40.<sup>11</sup> Even though they give the divergent candidates for the ending of Pg, one point is communal, namely that it is in the Sinai-pericope in Exodus-Leviticus.

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- 6 For example, Erhard Blum gave up this separation of narrative materials and secondary interpolations, including the discussion of whether P is a redaction or a source, and proposed his theoretical model of KP, which no longer adheres to the inner differentiations of the P-materials within the Pentateuch. See E. Blum, *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte*, WMANT 57 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner Verlag, 1984); idem, *Studien zur Komposition des Pentateuch*, BZAW 189 (Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1990), especially, 221–360. Blum followed and significantly developed the theory of his teacher, Rolf Rendtorff, in these studies. Cf. R. Rendtorff, *Das überlieferungsgeschichtliche Problem des Pentateuch*, BZAW 147 (Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1977).
- 7 L. Perlitt, “Priesterschrift im Deuteronomium?”, *ZAW* 100 (1988, 65–88). Contrary, there is a recent scholarly voice that see the ending of P in Deut 34. See C. Frevel, *Mit Blick auf das Land die Schöpfung erinnern. Zum Ende der Priestergrundschrift*, HBS 23 (Freiburg / Basel / Wien / Barcelona / Rom / New York; Herder, 2000).
- 8 E. Zenger, “Die priesterlichen Schichten,” in *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, idem et al. (Stuttgart / Berlin / Köln; Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1995, 89–108), 95.
- 9 E. Otto, “Forschungen zur Priesterschrift,” *TRu* 62 (1997, 20–36).
- 10 C. Nihan, *From Priestly Torah to Pentateuch: A Study in the Composition of the Book of Leviticus*, FAT 2. Reihe 25 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007).
- 11 T. Pola, *Die ursprüngliche Priesterschrift. Beobachtungen zur Literarkritik und Traditionsgeschichte von P<sup>s</sup>*, WMANT 70 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner Verlag, 1995); Reinhard G. Kratz, *Die Komposition der erzählenden Bücher des Alten Testaments* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 226–248.

This assumption of the ending of Pg in the Sinai-pericope can find further textual support by the literary inclusion between the Priestly creation account (Gen 1:1–2:3) and the temple construction note (Exod 39–40\*).<sup>12</sup>

Gen 1–2	Exod 39–40
<p>1:31 <u>And God saw all that he made</u> (וירא עשה את כל אשר עשה). <u>And see</u> (והנה), [it was] very good. And there was an evening and there was a morning. The sixth day.</p>	<p>39:32 And all the work of the tabernacle of Ohel Moed <u>was finished</u> (ותכל). And the children of Israel <u>made</u> (ויעשו בני ישראל) according to all that YHWH commanded Moses. So <u>made</u> they (כן עשו).</p>
<p>2:1 And the heaven and the earth <u>were finished</u> (ויכלו), and all of their multitude[?].</p>	<p>43 <u>And Moses saw all of work</u> (וירא משה את כל המלאכה). <u>And see</u> (והנה), they <u>made</u> it (עשו אתה) as YHWH commanded. So <u>made</u> they (כן עשו). And Moses blessed them (ויברך אתם משה).</p>
<p>2 <u>And God finished his work</u> on the seventh day (ויכל אלהים ביום השביעי מלאכתו אשר עשה). And he rested on the seventh day from <u>all of his work that he made</u> (מכל מלאכתו אשר עשה).</p>	<p>40:33 And he raised the courtyard around the tabernacle and the altar. And he put the screen to the gate of the courtyard. <u>And Moses finished the work</u> (ויכל משה את המלאכה).</p>
<p>3 <u>And God blessed</u> (ויברך אלהים) the seventh day. And he consecrated it because in it he rested from <u>all of his work that God created in the making</u> (מכל מלאכתו אשר ברא אלהים לעשות).</p>	

As seen from this small chart, the creation story in Genesis 1–2 and the account of the building of the sanctuary in Exodus 39–40 share the phrases and motifs, presenting a corresponding literary relationship between the two passages. The author(s) created a notable inclusion by repeating similar phrases and words at the beginning and the ending of Pg.

12 See, for example, Nihan, *From Priestly Torah*, 54; K. Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte des Alten Testaments. Eine Einführung* (3. Auflage; Darmstadt: wbg Academic, 2021), 191–192.

For this document Pg, scholars usually propose a date in the late Exilic to early Persian period. However, more recently scholars opt for the early Persian period, which is more plausible.<sup>13</sup> The peaceful view of the international political situation of Pg (see Gen 10) suggests that Pg was written under the influence of the Achaemenid hegemony.

There is also redactional activity in the book of Ezekiel contemporary to the composition of Pg, namely the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction that was also undertaken in the early Persian period. An analysis and comparison of the literary and theological-political profiles of Pg and the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction in the book of Ezekiel can be an essential key for a more profound understanding of the relationship between the Priestly literature in the Pentateuch and the book of Ezekiel.

A comparison with the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction is also meaningful from the perspective of discerning the profile of the political theology of Pg, because Pg also seems to have a conceptual proximity to the Babylonian-Golah.

The itinerary of Abraham in P provides a different original location of Abraham compared to the non-P passages. The following passages of Genesis 11:27–12:3 describe the departure of Abraham from his home country.<sup>14</sup>

<b>P Texts</b>	<b>Non-P Texts</b>
11:27 And these are the Toledoth of Terah. Terah begot Abram, Nahor, and Haran. And Haran begot Lot.	11:28 And Haran died before Terah, his father, in the land of his birthplace, in Ur of the Chaldeans.

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13 Especially, see Nihan, *From Priestly Torah*, 383–394.

14 For my allocation of P texts in Gen 11:27–12:3, I have followed the traditional but still credible scholarly division of the P texts and non-P texts here. Especially, vv. 28–30 lack the specific Priestly language. This position is also followed by Jakob Wöhrle. See J. Wöhrle, *Fremdlinge im eigenen Land*, FRLANT 246 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 25–38.

	29 And Abram and Nahor took wives for them. The name of Abram’s wife was Sarai and the name of Nahor’s wife was Milcah. [She was] a daughter of Haran, [who was] the father of Milcah and the father of Iscah.
	30 And Sarai was childless. She had no child.
	12:1 And YHWH said to Abram. “Go ahead from your land from your birthplace and from your father’s house to the land that I will show you.
31 And Terah took Abram, his son, and Lot, the son of Haran, his grandson, and Sarai, his daughter in law, the wife of his son Abram. And they went out from Ur of the Chaldeans to go into the land of Canaan. And they entered unto Haran and they dwelled there.	12:2 And I will make you a great nation and I will bless you and make your name great. Be you a blessing!
32 And the days of Terah were two hundred and five years. And Terah died in Haran.	12:3 And I will bless those who bless you. And I will curse those who curse you. And all the clans on the earth will be blessed in you.

Even though the classical distinction between P and non-P texts in Genesis 11:27–12:3 is still appropriate because of the explicit presence of P-language, their chronological order needs to be reconsidered due to the following observation. Vv. 28–30 seems to presuppose v. 27 because without it vv. 28–30 would lack a proper introduction. In addition, Genesis 11:28 seems to be a *Fortschreibung*, adding the information on Haran that is lacking in the P materials. V. 31 (P) skips the account of Haran and moves its focus on Lot, a son of Haran. This indifference of P to Haran indicates the supplemental nature of the note on Haran in v. 28. The complementary nature of v. 28 suggests that this passage is a later addition. Therefore, vv. 28–30\* is a post-P *Fortschreibung* and dependent on P.

The P text of Genesis 11:27–32\* introduces the unique account that Abraham originally came from Ur of the Chaldeans and entered into the land of Palestine. Besides Genesis 11, Genesis 15:7 also mentions Ur as the original place of Abraham, but this is a post-P text, as many scholars point out.<sup>15</sup> There is a strong literary relation between Genesis 15 and Genesis 17 (P), which share several terms and concepts, indicating that Genesis 15 and Genesis 17 have a literary dependency.<sup>16</sup> Abraham finds the promise of a descendant as a surprise in Genesis 17:17, and this motif of Abraham being surprised stands in contradiction to Genesis 15, which promises the descendants to Abraham already before Genesis 17 in its narrative context (if Genesis 15 is presupposed by Genesis 17). In addition, the ritualistic act of Abraham in Genesis 15:9–10 reflects the Priestly regulation in Leviticus 1:17; 5:8.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, Genesis 15 is post-P and was written under the influence of the P text in Genesis 11. Contrastingly to this P concept of the origin of Abraham in Ur, several other traditions attribute Haran as the place related to the ancestor figures. Except for Genesis 11, the place name of Haran appears in Genesis 12:4.5; 27:43; 28:10; 29:4. Among them, the attestation in Genesis 12:4b–5 is from the Priestly text. Genesis 27:43; 28:10; 29:4 correlate

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- 15 K. Schmid, *Genesis and the Moses Story: Israel's Dual Origins in the Hebrew Bible*, trans. J. D. Nogalski (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 158–171; E. Blum, “Die literarische Verbindung von Erzvätern und Exodus. Ein Gespräch mit neueren Endredaktionshypothesen,” in *Abschied vom Jahwisten. Die Komposition des Hexateuch in der jüngsten Diskussion*, ed. J. C. Gertz et al., BZAW 315 (Berlin / New York; Walter de Gruyter, 2002, 119–156), 142–145; J. Wöhrle, “The Un-Empty Land: The Concept of Exile and Land in P,” in *The Concept of Exile in Ancient Israel and its Historical Contexts*, ed. E. B. Zvi et al., BZAW 404 (Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010, 189–206), 192.
- 16 See T. Römer, “Genesis 15 und Genesis 17,” *DBAT* 26 (1989/90, 32–47).
- 17 See Römer, “Genesis 15 und Genesis 17,” 431. Nihan even argues that the regulation of the burnt offering of the bird in Lev 1:14–17 is later addition to P. See Nihan, *From Priestly Torah to Pentateuch*, 204–205.

the location of Haran to the family of Rebekah (and therefore, the origin place of Leah and Rachel). Also, Jacob himself spent several years at Haran. Haran is a closely related location to the ancestors in Genesis, but P introduces the notion of the original location of Abraham in Ur. According to the P-text in Genesis 11, the family of Abraham also temporarily dwelled in Haran, but here Haran represents a stopping point rather than the original point of departure.

As Jakob Wöhrle rightly points out, by locating Abraham's point of origin to the city of Ur of the Chaldeans, the P-writers reveal their intention to associate this ancestral figure with the Babylonian-Golah (who was also in the land of Babylon).<sup>18</sup> The word כְּשָׁדִים is never attested in the context of the Table of Nations (*Völkertafel*) in Genesis 10, nor in the entire Pentateuch except for two times in Genesis 11:28–31. In the synchronic reading of the Enneateuch, the reader can encounter this word for the second time in 2Kings 24:2 in the exact context of the Babylonian invasion. Therefore, along with Jakob Wöhrle, we can assume that the use of כְּשָׁדִים in Genesis 11:27–32\* is intentionally anachronistic and the writer of this text had a clear intent to fuse the image of the Babylonian-Golah to the ancestor figure of Abraham.<sup>19</sup> The choice of the town of Ur might reflect the knowledge of the Priestly writers that this place was the central city of Mesopotamia during the period in which Abraham was supposedly active (i.e., the second millennium BCE).<sup>20</sup> Abraham thus becomes the exemplar of the Babylonian-Golah who departs from the land of Babylon and immigrates to Canaan.

Therefore, the Babylonian-Golah orientation in Pg seems essential to understanding the political theology of Pg. The literary activity approximately contemporary with Pg is the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction in the book of Ezekiel; both can be dated to the early Persian period. Importantly, Pg and the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction in the book of Ezekiel share several similar concepts,

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18 Wöhrle, "The Un-Empty Land," 192–193.

19 Wöhrle, "The Un-Empty Land," 193.

20 Wöhrle, "The Un-Empty Land," 193.



expressions, and theological ideas, which can work as points for comparison.

## 2. The Temple Orientation in Pg and the Pro-Babylonian Golah Redaction in Ezek

It was Karl-Friedrich Pohlmann who first focused on the existence of the redaction in the book of Ezekiel that pays special attention to the first Babylonian-Golah of 597 BCE.<sup>21</sup> His theory is well accepted and has found many followers such as Christophe Nihan, Konrad Schmid, and others.<sup>22</sup>

The pro-Babylonian Golah redaction begins with the visionary account in Ezekiel 1–3\*. Ezekiel saw the vision of the “Glory of YHWH,” when he was with the Babylonian-Golah who were deported to the land of Babylon along with king Jehoiachin. The pro-Babylonian Golah redaction developed around this motif of the “Glory of YHWH.” The second text where this motif appears is Eze-

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21 K. Pohlmann, *Ezechielstudien. Zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Buches und zur Frage nach den ältesten Texten*, BZAW 202 (Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1992); idem, *Das Buch des Propheten Hesekiel (Ezechiel) Kapitel 1–19*, ATD Teilband 22/1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996); idem, *Das Buch des Propheten Hesekiel (Ezechiel) Kapitel 20–48*, ATD Teilband 22/2, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001).

22 C. Nihan, “Ezechiel,” in *Einleitung in das Alte Testament. Die Bücher der Hebräischen Bibel und die alttestamentlichen Schriften der katholischen, protestantischen und orthodoxen Kirchen*, ed. Thomas Römer et al. (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2013, 412–430); Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte des Alten Testaments*, 216–221; idem, “Das Ezechielbuch,” in *Grundinformation Altes Testaments* (6., überarbeitete und erweiterte Auflage), ed. J. C. Gertz (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Göttingen, 2019, 361–372); W. Bühner, “Ezechiel und die Priesterschrift,” in *Das Buch Ezechiel. Komposition, Redaktion und Rezeption*, ed. J. C. Gertz et al., BZAW 516 (Berlin / Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2020, 175–206); C. Koch, *Gottes himmlische Wohnstatt. Transformation im Verhältnis von Gott und Himmel in tempeltheologischen Entwürfen des Alten Testaments in der Exilzeit*, FAT 119 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 133–189.

kiel 8–11\*. There, the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction introduced the idea that YHWH himself left his temple and the city of Jerusalem before its destruction. Finally, we can see the motif of the “Glory of YHWH” again at the final literary complex of Ezekiel 40–48\*, where the concept of the constitution for the new temple appears. The “Glory of YHWH” enters the visionary new temple city. A further mention of the Babylonian-Golah can be found in Ezekiel 37\*, which is located right before Ezekiel 40–48\* in the textual witness of Greek Papyrus 967. As detailed analysis by Schwagmeier and others illuminated, the Hebrew *Vorlage* of Papyrus 967 represents the preliminary phase of the literary development of the book of Ezekiel before the proto-MT.<sup>23</sup> In addition, as Tooman proposed, the Gog-Magog pericope in Ezekiel 38–39\* employs a distinct literary and linguistic profile compared to the other texts in the book of Ezekiel and seemed to form originally an independent textual unit that was inserted to the book of Ezekiel.<sup>24</sup> Thilo Alexander Rudnig argues that Papyrus 967 attests to the original textual connection between Ezekiel 37\* and Ezekiel 40–48\*, which reflects the text arrangement created by the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction.<sup>25</sup> The revival of the group of Babylonian-Golah is thematized, and a hopeful future is suggested with the promise of the land and their coexistence with YHWH in Ezekiel 37\*, which

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- 23 P. Schwagmeier, *Untersuchungen zu Textgeschichte und Entstehung des Ezechielbuchs in masoretischer und griechischer Überlieferung* (Diss., Zürich, 2004); I. E. Lilly, *Two Books of Ezekiel: Papyrus 967 and the Masoretic Text as Variant Literary Editions*, VTSup 150 (Leiden / Boston; Brill, 2012); K. Pohlmann, “Ezekiel: New Directions and Current Debates,” in *Ezekiel: Current Debates and Future Directions*, ed. W. A. Tooman et al., FAT 112 (Tübingen; Mohr Siebeck, 2017, 3–17); A. Klein, *Schriftauslegung im Ezechielbuch. Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Ez 34–39*, BZAW 391 (Berlin / New York; Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 60–65.
- 24 W. A. Tooman, *Gog of Magog: Reuse of Scripture and Compositional Technique in Ezekiel 38–39*, FAT 2. Reihe 52 (Tübingen; Mohr Siebeck, 2011).
- 25 T. A. Rudnig, *Heilig und Profan. Redaktionskritische Studien zu Ez 40–48*, BZAW 287 (Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), 62–77.

see the fulfillment in the entrance of the “Glory of YHWH” and the building of the temple as a sign of the coexistence of YHWH in Ezekiel 40–48\*. The pro-Babylonian Golah redaction is present in the structure of the book of Ezekiel via four visionary accounts in Ezekiel 1–3\*; 8–11\*; 37\*; 40–48\*.<sup>26</sup>

Considering the structure of Pg mentioned above, an unmissable similarity to the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction comes into view. Pg is a document that begins with the creation narrative and concludes with the building of the sanctuary.

<b>P</b>	<b>The Pro-Babylonian Golah Redaction</b>
Exod 25:8 And they will make a sanctuary to me, and I will dwell among them.	Ezek 43:7 And he said to me. “Son of man, [this is] the place of my throne and the place for the soles of my feet, where I will dwell there, among the sons of Israel forever. And the house of Israel will no more defile my holy name, neither they nor their kings, by their harlotry, and by the corpses of their kings at their Bamoth.
Exod 29:45 And I will dwell among the sons of Israel, and I will be a God to them.	Ezek 43:9 Now let them put away their harlotry and the corpses of their kings far from me, and I will dwell among them forever.
Exod 29:46 And they will know that I am YHWH, their God, who brought them out of the land of Egypt that I dwell among them. I am YHWH, their God.	

In all the cases in this chart, the phrase “dwelling among (e.g., Ezek 43:9; **ושכנתי בתוכם**)” has YHWH as the subject, and it clarifies that he will live among his people. Ezekiel 43:1–9\* is rightly attributed to the pro-Babylonian Golah

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<sup>26</sup> See Schmid, “Das Ezechielbuch,” 366–368; Koch, *Gottes himmlische Wohnstatt*, 133–189.

redaction by Christoph Koch.<sup>27</sup> He argues that the concept of the departure of YHWH from Jerusalem in the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction of Ezekiel 8–11\* remains without its narrative continuation if it lacks Ezekiel 43:1–9\*, which narrates the entering of YHWH into the new temple.<sup>28</sup> This common phrase “dwelling among” appears in the pivotal passages of the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction that forms the narrative *inclusio* from the very beginning of Ezekiel 1–3\* to Ezekiel 8–11\*. The phrase “dwelling among” is used in relation to the temple both in Ezekiel 43 and in Pg. While the former is in the literary complex concerning the new temple, in the latter it shows up in the crucial passages of the instruction for the temple construction. This means that both Pg and the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction in the book of Ezekiel end with accounts of the construction of the temple.

When one takes into account aspects of political theology, the significant divergences between Pg and the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction emerge. The designation of the temple’s location played a crucial role in the sphere of political theology in the socio-historical environment in the early Persian period because in this period there were diversified groups of the “Yahwistic” people. For example, we can assume differences between the returned Babylonian Golah, those who remained in the land of Palestine during the Exilic period, the Egyptian diaspora, especially the Elephantine community, the Babylonian-Golah community who remained in the land of Babylon, etc.

The pro-Babylonian Golah redaction in the book of Ezekiel centers on the concept that the new, ideal temple is to be built in one specific temple city (presumably Jerusalem?)<sup>29</sup> and in no other city. Pg is different. The temple in Pg is a movable tent sanctuary, which is built outside of Palestine, somewhere in the re-

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27 Koch, *Gottes himmlische Wohnstatt*, 175–187.

28 Koch, *Gottes himmlische Wohnstatt*, 184–187.

29 Remarkably, there is no direct mention of the name of “Jerusalem/Zion” in Ezek 40–48. This could be intentional on the part of the writers of the temple vision.

gion of mount Sinai. The location of the sanctuary in Pg is not specified. The tent sanctuary of Pg moves around with the people of Israel through the wilderness.

The beginning of both Pg and the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction draws further attention. The vision of YHWH's throne in Ezekiel 1–3\* presents its concept of the heavenly firmament רַקִּיעַ, especially in vv. 22–26. This word is frequently attested in the Priestly creation narrative in Genesis 1:6, 7, 8, 14, 15, 17, 20. רַקִּיעַ appears seventeen times in the Hebrew Bible, of which nine are in P, and five are in the book of Ezekiel.<sup>30</sup> Presumably, both Genesis 1 and Ezekiel 1 were influenced by Babylonian cosmological models rather than having a direct literary dependency between one another, as Bühner argues, following Koch.<sup>31</sup> This is supported by the fact that there is a notable conceptual difference between Genesis 1 and Ezekiel 1. For example, Pg understands heaven as the object of the act of creation by God, while God does not have his own dwelling place in heaven. Ezekiel 1:26 locates the throne of YHWH above the רַקִּיעַ firmament, whereas the dwelling place of God is never explicitly mentioned in the creation narrative of Genesis 1.<sup>32</sup>

A second example is found in the use of the word קֶשֶׁת (rainbow), which functions as the symbol of the eternal covenant of God in Pg (Gen 9:13, 14, 16) but represents the Glory of YHWH in Ezekiel 1:28. Once again, the shared phrase in Pg and the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction in the book of Ezekiel demonstrates divergences in the meaning and content, such that a direct literary dependency is not suggested.<sup>33</sup>

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30 The other references are found in Ps 19:2; 150:1; Dan 12:3.

31 Bühner, "Ezechiel und die Priesterschrift," 184–187; Koch, *Gottes himmlische Wohnstatt*, 137–168. Koch especially focuses on the comparison between Ezek 1 and the Babylonian mythical and religious commentary text of KAR 307.

32 K. Schmid, *Theologie des Alten Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), 261.

33 There is a further unique phrase in Pg and the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction in Ezek 1–3\* that finds no further attestation in the entire Hebrew Bible. The phrase

Therefore, while it is possible to see a general similarity in structure (ending with the temple construction) and certain specific terminology (e.g., the firmament) in Pg and the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction, the ideology and theology of these two works are entirely different.

### **3. The Concept of Judgment in Pg and the Pro-Babylonian Golah Redaction**

A clear parallel between the expressions of judgment and destruction can be found in Genesis 6 and Ezekiel 7.

<b>Ezek 7:2.3.6</b>	<b>Gen 6:13</b>	<b>Amos 8:2</b>
2 And You, son of man, thus says the lord YHWH to the land of Israel. “An end. The end has come upon the four corners of the land.	13 And Elohim said to Noah. “An end of all flesh has come before me, for the earth is filled with violence because of them. And see, I am going to destroy them with the earth”.	2 And he said. “What do you see, Amos?” And I said. “A basket of summer fruit”. And YHWH said to me. “The end has come upon my people, Israel. I will never again pass them by.”

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“associate/join one to the other” is attested in Exod 26:3 (26:5, 6, 17) and Ezek 1:9 (1:23; 3:13). Remarkably, the passages in Pg are in the context of the manufacturing the tent of the sanctuary, and the passages in the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction in Ezek 1–3\* are the texts that describe the visionary account of the throne of YHWH. It is the wings of the visionary throne that “associate one to the other” in the context of Ezek 1–3\*. Here, too, even though the unique common phrase simultaneously appears in the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction and Pg, not only the direct literary dependence cannot be supposed, but also the meaning and content are very different and unrelated to each other. These points of the common phrases in Pg and the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction reveal the divergencies, unrelatedness, and the lack of explicit literary dependency between them.

3 Now the end is upon you. And I will send my anger upon you, I will judge you according to your ways, and I will give upon you all of your abominations.		
6 An end has come. The end has come. It has awakened against you, see, it comes.		

The older phrase of the prophecy of judgment (e.g., Am 8:2) is taken up by Ezekiel 7:2, 3, 6.<sup>34</sup> Ezekiel develops this motif so that it applies to the “four corners of the land”.<sup>35</sup> Noteworthy is the case of P, which expresses a universal perspective whereby all flesh will face the end by further developing this motif in Ezekiel 7. The catastrophe and judgment in P are universal in scale, the entire earth faces destruction.

The prophecy of judgment in Ezekiel 7 is further taken up by Ezekiel 8. Walter Bührer points out that the same motif of “violence” is thought to be the cause of the judgment in both Genesis 6:13 and Ezekiel 8:17.<sup>36</sup>

<b>Gen 6:13</b>	<b>Ezek 8:17</b>
13 And Elohim said to Noah. “An end of all flesh has come before me, for the earth is filled with violence because of them. And see, I am going to destroy them with the earth.”	17 And he said to me, “Have you seen [this], son of man? Is it a light thing for the house of Judah to commit the abominations which they made here that they filled the earth with violence and provoke my anger still more? And see, they are putting the branch to their nose.

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34 Bührer, “Ezechiël und die Priesterschrift,” 188.

35 Bührer, “Ezechiël und die Priesterschrift,” 188.

36 Bührer, “Ezechiël und die Priesterschrift,” 188–189.

In both texts, it is explicit that nothing other than the “violence חמס” is the cause of the judgment that strikes the land. P and those passages in the book of Ezekiel share the same expressions and the theological motifs of judgment and destruction. However, in the case of P, the violence that filled the land and the destruction by the divine wrath is chronologically transferred to the primeval period. This point can support the possibly younger dating of Pg compared to the motif of judgment in the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction.<sup>37</sup>

#### **4. The Covenant Theology in Pg and the Pro-Babylonian Golah Redaction**

The covenant theology of Pg has a very unique theological profile to emphasize the unbroken and everlasting covenant of YHWH.<sup>38</sup> This concept of covenant of Pg stands in sharp contrast with the covenant theology of the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction in the book of Ezekiel, which, for example, conceptualizes the *new* covenant between YHWH and the Babylonian-Golah in Ezekiel 37\*.

Pg takes another option regarding this covenant concept. Even a quick look at the covenant text in Pg reveals that the writer of Pg had an explicit and firm intention to overcome this approach to the covenant theology.

Genesis 17:7

And I will establish my covenant between me and you, and your descendant after you throughout their generations, for an eternal covenant, to be a God

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37 See Pola, *Die ursprüngliche Priesterschrift*, 287, n. 245.

38 For the overview of the covenant theology in the Priestly literature as a whole, especially, see C. Nihan, “The Priestly Covenant, Its Reinterpretations, and the Composition of ‘P’,” in *The Strata of the Priestly Writings: Contemporary Debate and Future Directions*, ATANT 95, ed. S. Shectman and J. S. Baden (Zürich; Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2009, 87–134).



to you and to your descendant after you.

The theological challenge of this passage becomes very prominent if we compare this text with other texts on the covenant formula between YHWH and the people of Israel. Those covenant formulas can be found, for example, in Deuteronomy 26:17–18; Jer 7:23; 11:4; 30:22; 32:38; Ezek 11:20; 14:11; 36:28; 37:23, 27.

<b>P</b>	<b>Deut 26:17–18</b>	<b>Ezek 11:20; 36:28; 37:27</b>	<b>Jer 7:23; 24:7; 32:38</b>
Gen 17:7 And I will establish my covenant between me and you, and your descendant after you throughout their generations, for an eternal covenant, <u>to be a God to you and to your descendant after you.</u>	Deut 26:17 Today you have obtained [agreement of] YHWH <u>to be your God</u> , and for you to walk in his ways, to keep his statutes, his commandments, and his Mishpat, and to hear his voice.  18 And today YHWH has obtained [agreement] of you, <u>to be his treasured people</u> , as he spoke to you, and to keep his commandments.	Ezek 11:20 so that they walk in my statutes and keep my Mishpat and do them. <u>And they will be a people to me, and I will be a God to them.</u>  36:28 And you will live in the land that I gave to your ancestors. <u>And you will be a people to me, and I will be a God to you.</u>  37:27 And my dwelling place will be upon them. <u>And I will be a God to them, and they will be a people to me.</u>	Jer 7:23 For this thing I commanded them. “Hear my voice, <u>and I will be a God to you, and you will be a people to me.</u> And walk only in the way that I command you, so that it will be well with you.”  24:7 And I will give them a heart to know that I am YHWH. <u>And they will be a people to me and I will be a God to them</u> , for they shall return to me with all of their heart.  32:38 <u>And they will be a people to me, and I will be a God to them.</u>

As it is very clear from this comparison, the covenant formula of Pg lacks

the phrase “you will be a people to me,” which finds attestation in all the other cases of the covenant formulas in the above list. This distinction shows that the covenant theology of Pg is conceptualized as an idea that diverges from other theologies of the covenant in the Hebrew Bible. Konrad Schmid rightly points out the anti-Deuteronomistic orientation of covenant theology of Pg.<sup>39</sup> While the tradition of Deuteronomism emphasizes the aspect of the breaking of the covenant from the side of the people to explain the national catastrophe of the Babylonian invasion in the 6th century BCE (and the Assyrian invasion in the 8th century BCE for the Northern kingdom), the lack of the phrase “you will be a people to me” in the covenant formula in Pg signifies that the breaking of the covenant from the side of the people is not possible. The central point of the covenant theology of Pg is in the promise of YHWH.<sup>40</sup>

For the theological world of Pg, the covenant between YHWH and the people is unbreakable; therefore, it is still in place for the members of the returned Babylonian-Golah who live in the time after the national catastrophe and the destruction of the Jerusalem temple.<sup>41</sup> They have the right to live in the land of Palestine as before like those who remained in the land during the Exilic period who did not depart from it and kept on living there.<sup>42</sup> They also belong to the

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39 Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte des Alten Testaments*, 195.

40 See Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte des Alten Testaments*, 193–194.

41 See Nihan, “The Priestly Covenant,” 91–103; W. Zimmerli, “Sinaibund und Abrahambund. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der Priesterschrift,” *TZ* 16 (1960, 268–280), 277–280.

42 Jakob Wöhrle emphasizes the political accent of P that the term “Canaanites” is a cipher for those who remained in the land during the exilic period. See Wöhrle, *Fremdlinge im eigenen Land*, 165–226, especially, 215–217. However, his identification of the Canaanites is not applicable in P except for Gen 26:34–35; 27:46–28:1, 6, 8. One of the possibilities that Wöhrle should have considered is that those mentions of endogamy are a later Priestly redaction in the book of Genesis but not the text of the original P. His theory to see the P text in the ancestor narrative already as redaction

same Abraham covenant. This covenant is even valid for the diaspora who live outside of the land and, therefore, can return to the land in the future and have the right to live in it together with the returned Babylonian-Golah and those who remained in the land.

## **5. The Theme of Abraham and Land in Pg and the Pro-Babylonian Golah Redaction**

The covenant theology of Pg might also point to the distance that Pg takes from the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction in the book of Ezekiel. In Ezekiel 37\*, there is an account of the covenant between YHWH and the revived Babylonian-Golah in the land of Babylon, who are described as the dry bones.<sup>43</sup> P does not mention the covenant between YHWH and the Exodus group in the land of Egypt, but contains the covenant with the descendants of Abraham that include not only the Israelites but also Edomites and Arabs in Genesis 17.<sup>44</sup> Even in the covenant related text in Exodus 6, we find the connection of the land promise to the ancestor figures (Abraham with his descendants) and the promise to the Exodus group. The land promise to Abraham itself is a topos which quite likely worked as a basis of the land claim of those who remained in the land during the Exilic period and early post-Exilic period, as is hinted at in Ezekiel 33:24. The covenant theme in Exodus 6 might have the function of creating a comprehensive and inclusive identity that includes the returned Babylonian-Golah and

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might have prevented him from considering this possibility.

43 See Rudnig, *Heilig und Profan*, 62–77; Schmid, “Das Ezechielbuch,” 366–368.

44 The covenant theology of Pg includes even the entire people of Israel, regardless of whether they are Samaritans, those who remained in the land of Palestine, Babylonian-Golah, Egyptian diaspora, or those who remained in the land of Babylon, as discussed below.

those who remained in the land.<sup>45</sup>

Pg and the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction in the book of Ezekiel present contrasting images of Abraham. This is especially prominent in Ezekiel 33\*.

Ezekiel 33:24–26

24 Son of man, the inhabitants of these wastes in the land of Israel are saying. “Abraham was one man. But he possessed the land. But we are many, the land is given us to possess”.

25 Therefore say to them. “Thus, says lord YHWH. You eat [meat] with the blood, lift up your eyes to your idols, and shed blood. And you possess the land?

26 You stand upon your swords, you do abominations, and each of you defiles the wife of his neighbor. And you possess the land?”

Abraham is thematically related to the claim of those who remained in the land to insist on their right to possess the land. The Abraham tradition seems to have been used and circulated by those who remained in the land. Ezekiel 33:24–26 criticizes the supposed right of possession of those who remained in the land. Ezekiel 33:24aβb in particular cites the word of those who remained in the land in order to develop a counterargument from the perspective of the Babylonian-Golah over the rights of possession.<sup>46</sup> Namely, everyone who remained in the land of Palestine is subject to judgment by YHWH, and only the people of the Babylonian-Golah can enjoy the restitutive act of YHWH in the future.<sup>47</sup>

The thematic connection of Abraham and the land is perceived negatively

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45 J. Jeon, “The Promise of the Land and the Extent of P,” *ZAW* 130 (2018, 513–528), 524–525; Nihan, *From Priestly Torah*, 386–387.

46 See Pohlmann, *Das Buch des Propheten Hesekiel Kapitel 20–48*, 454–455.

47 Pohlmann attributes Ezek 33:21–29 to his “golaorientierte Redaktion.” Pohlmann, *Das Buch des Propheten Hesekiel Kapitel 20–48*, 453–456.

in the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction, which criticizes the claims of the possession of the land by those who remained in the land through the Abraham motif. The discontinuity of the lives and right to live in the land is emphasized in the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction. The land had to become “empty” after the Babylonian invasion. Also, the new promise and the new covenant must be raised for restitution and new life in the land, which are exclusively given to the people of the Babylonian-Golah.<sup>48</sup> Precisely the opposite is the case in Pg. Pg tried to create a national myth for the entire people of Israel and Judah, regardless of whether they were Babylonian-Golah, diaspora, or those who remained in the land. The figure of Abraham plays an essential role in the entire narrative structure of Pg, and he works as the key figure for the claim of the right to live in the land in the theological world of Pg.

If the recent assumption of researchers (e.g., Schmid, Gertz, de Pury, and Nihan) is correct, then one of the important literary achievements of Pg was the connection of the ancestor tradition in Genesis (those who remained in the land) and the Exodus tradition (the Babylonian-Golah).<sup>49</sup> Also, the Exodus story is a

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48 The “Empty-Land” motif appears in the texts of the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction in Ezek 33:21–29. The theme of the new promise and new covenant in combination with the motif of life in the land of Palestine is attested in Ezek 37\*. Pohlmann attributes most of the texts of Ezek 37\* except vv. 15–24 to the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction. See Pohlmann, *Das Buch des Propheten Hesekiel Kapitel 20–48*, 491–505. Ezekiel 37:15–24 develops a very different theme in the middle of these texts of the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction to introduce the concept of the reunification of Israel and Judah under the symbolic king “David.”

49 See Schmid, *Genesis and the Moses Story*, especially, 106–110. 144–148; J. C. Gertz, *Tradition und Redaktion in der Exoduserzählung. Untersuchungen zur Endredaktion des Pentateuch*, FRLANT 186 (Göttingen; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 2000); A. de Pury, “Pg as the Absolute Beginning,” in *Die Patriarchen und die Priesterschrift / Les Patriarches et le document sacerdotal*, ed. J. D. Macchi et al., ATANT 99 (Zürich; Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2010, 13–42), 26–27; Nihan, *From Priestly Torah*, 386–287.

tradition that can be read parallelly with the tradition of an Exodus from Babylon, e.g. in Second Isaiah. Juxtaposing the Genesis story and the Exodus narrative in a sequence,<sup>50</sup> P allowed for the joining of the land-oriented identity of those who remained in the land, which is connected to the Abraham tradition, to the originally exclusive Exodus identity, which was related to the returned Babylonian-Golah, who departed from the foreign country and entered the promised land. Through this theological achievement of Pg, Abraham became an “ecumenical father,” with whom both the Babylonian-Golah and those who remained in the land can identify.<sup>51</sup>

## 6. Conclusion

Even though the close literary relationship between P and Ezekiel is a well-debated topic for scholars, there seems to be no direct literary dependency between Pg and the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction in the book of Ezekiel that is demonstrable. They indeed share some similar language and terms; however, there are significant divergences and gaps between them in the realm of political

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50 See Schmid, *Genesis and the Moses Story*, especially, 237–248.

51 The theological profile of the Abraham figure as immigrating from Babylon also points into the direction of this explanation. Abraham, who used to be a central figure for the land-claim of those who remained in the land, now functions as the inclusive ecumenical figure who is also an exemplar of the returned Babylonian-Golah. To put it more bluntly, Pg is overriding the identity of those who remained in the land into the Exodus oriented (therefore the returned Babylonian-Golah oriented) identity so that even those who remained in the land can join the Exodus identity as the narrative sequence proceeds from Genesis story to the Exodus story. However, the theological profile of P on this joining of the identity of those who remained in the land into the Exodus identity is not the concept that those people can keep and maintain their identity as it is, but their identity is overridden by the Exodus identity. Namely, Abraham is an immigrant from the land of Babylon, rather than being indigenous in the land.

theology. The contemporary Pg and the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction in the early Persian period show almost contrasting and conflicting concepts of political theology between them. Still, one hint of the possible dating difference between them exists. The well-developed worldview of the political theology in Pg, especially regarding the literary connection between the ancestor narrative and Exodus narrative and its developed concept regarding the socio-political problem of the identity of Israel, suggests that Pg is later than the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction and tries to overcome its program of exclusive identity formation.

Pg presents its unique political theology, which centers on Abraham as the “ecumenical father” of all the people of Israel in contrast to the exclusive political program of the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction in the book of Ezekiel.